2: Schaden--94 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/79 cont./

178 581 596 586 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 178 [851] [551] If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identifies himself with reference to his father: for instance: "Isidoraý," son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the [171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child [606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of [591] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

• 612 621 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the compotition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica- [829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

612 /80 cont./
621 lashing with ropes/ of So-and-So or of Mr. What-d'you-call-
[829] him, as the Mbüá say -- is always a kindred guided by a chief.

3. Economic relations in the family group

621 In some form the meshes of the net of economic relations
612 bind together all the individuals of a certain village or local
59 group. In other words: the local group constitutes an economic
[178] community in which in a more or less loose manner are bound by the community of interests the different units of production and consumption, which nowadays tend to be the elementary families. Kindreds made up of two, three, or more elementary families correspond to economic units of higher order, reflecting very well in their manifestations of solidarity the previous, pre-acculturative state, in which the great-family was the economic unit properly speaking. The congregation of the different great-families -- or kindreds -- to constitute a larger unit, whether the village or part of it (as a local group, geographically detached), occurs much more markedly on a religious basis, for just as the group of relatives is the elementary unit of production and consumption, the village constitutes the religious unit, at least on the occasion of the great celebrations of transcendental importance.

596 Finally, in former times, as everything indicates, the
178 great-family -- including the married couple, the married daughters, the sons-in-law, and the following generation -- constituted the unit of production and consumption. Its fragmentation may already have begun with the Jesuit influence.
[423] In some few cases the great-family even today is in practice the unit of production, although the clearings are declared to be the property of the various elementary families of the kindred.

59 One of these examples is the great-family of Paí Chiquinho
241 of the Kayová village of Panambí. The married son and each of the sons-in-law has a separate clearing, and Chiquinho insists on saying that, according to Kayová custom, each elementary family consumes the produce of its plantings. But at the time

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairapéky, the "green maize," the first crops of the
• [612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato
[177] Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an